

ting ahead in life, economic changes created new opportunities for them and they both benefited from and to some extent participated in feminist and civil rights movements which opened up opportunities for women and ethnic/racial minorities. This is a very conventional understanding of the American baby boom middle-class experience.

Class here is understood, as I have said, in terms of the three category model—lower, middle, upper—that is common in U.S. and Canadian popular culture. The discussion of other theoretical models of class is thin. Marxist models are mistakenly said to be based only on a binary opposition—something that was true neither for Marx himself, nor for the various neo-Marxists. For Ortner class is not understood as sets of relationships involving conflict and struggle. Class is treated as an economic category with accompanying cultural values that contribute to (or presumably potentially inhibit) one's ability to succeed in the system. There are stories of high school and familial difficulties and disappointment but the overall discussion is about upward mobility. This may be both the strength and weakness of the book. In telling this story Ortner is doing what we do need more of; more studies of the powerful and the successful—studying up so to speak. But in many ways, because it is a story of success as understood by the successful it is an analysis with which everyone raised in Canada and the United States is deeply familiar. It is the one communicated via the mass media regularly. The book thus does not move beyond a superficial understanding of the post-war boom and how the social and economic rewards of the largest economic expansion in world history have been distributed. Marx's famous statement in the Preface to *A Contribution to a Critique of Political Economy*—"Just as our opinion of an individual is not based on what he [*sic*] thinks of himself, so can we not judge of such a period of transformation by its own consciousness..."—is very relevant here. The principle value of Ortner's book is as a representation of the consciousness of the American middle class. If the reader is searching for an explanation of that consciousness, she or he will have to look elsewhere.

Gregory Forth (ed.), *Guardians of the Land in Kelimado: Louis Fontijne's Study of a Colonial District in Eastern Indonesia*, 2004, 266 pages.

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In *Guardians of the land of Kelimado*, Gregory Forth offers commentary on a previously unpublished and largely unknown report by a colonial administrator, Louis Fontijne. Fontijne was stationed in the Timor region of the Netherlands East Indies between 1939 and 1942. The focus of the book is specifically on the Kelimado, a region in the Nage district of central Flores, Indonesia. Because Forth has conducted extensive

research in the area, the book is centred on a comparison between Fontijne's and Forth's precolonial data regarding the beliefs, practices and organization of settlements, as well as the impacts of colonialism on the Nage region.

The Introduction of the book provides detailed information about the life and profession of Fontijne, the conditions of Fontijne's study and the process of translating the report. Fontijne joined the colonial service in Indonesia first as district officer in Sumatra, and following a series of stints in other parts of Indonesia, he became assistant commissioner in Kupang in 1942. Forth believes that Fontijne was interested in doing a doctoral degree at the University of Leiden, which could explain why the report produced by Fontijne resembles an anthropological study (p. 9). Forth provides at least three reasons why the colonial report is important today: (1) it is similar to ethnographic studies done by anthropologists at the time, (2) it is one of the only comprehensive studies on the Nage region during the colonial period, and (3) it describes the effects of Dutch colonialism on the practices and beliefs of the society (p. 4).

The main body of the book is the translation of Fontijne's report, which encompasses nine chapters describing topics ranging from sacrificial posts to land rights, from public worship to the impact of the Dutch authority on the region of Kelimado. The Resident of Timor authorized Fontijne to look into the "position of the landed guardian and his activities as they influence indigenous societies in the Residency" (p. 15). The land guardian was a leadership role associated with "ensuring the general well-being of the land" (p. 15). In the report, Fontijne draws three conclusions about the land guardians. First, the guardian leaders were all-purpose leaders. Second, these leaders were looking out for the best interest of the community as a whole and land was just one of the issues they addressed. Finally, the leaders addressed both "worldly affairs" as well as "religious affairs" (p. 165).

In general Fontijne is concerned with determining the origins and significance of "traditional" authority, ritual beliefs and practices and how they have been affected by Christianity and colonialism. For instance, he is discouraged by the fact that local descriptions of Ga'e Déwa (the Supreme Being) were tainted by Christian influence (p. 154). He states, "The real Nage region offers richer data than Kelimado proper for testing these hypotheses. There one finds more authentic and perhaps even purer pagan religion, including myths and legends among which appear creation stories of the sort that are entirely lacking here" (p. 155).

In the Editor's afterword, Forth examines Fontijne's report based on his own fieldwork in the region (p. 201). Forth and Fontijne share an interest in reconstructing the precolonial history of Kelimado, a political entity constituted after the arrival of the Dutch administration. However, they disagree about the organization of political groups in the area. Fontijne argues that the Kelimado territory was dominated by three different groups (So'a, Bamo, and Doa) that were

“pre-colonial political units corresponding to the name Kelimado” (p. 203). According to Fontijne there was a kind of unity and a relationship between the groups that existed prior to the Dutch colonial district whereby the Bamo held power over the others (p. 204). Forth disagrees, arguing that, instead of three groups there were two. The district was composed of a “dual organization” associated with two sacrificial posts (pp. 210-211). In other words, Forth maintains that the So’a and the Doa people were one group and that the Bamo constituted the other major group in the area (p. 211). The unity of the former group, however, was altered when the Dutch created the district of Kelimado (p. 204). When the Dutch arrived, they gave authority to leaders (a Bamo man was made district headman) who previously held little or no influence over groups of that region (p. 204). Thus according to Forth, Fontijne “overestimates the extent to which the colonial district of Kelimado existed as a distinct and unitary political entity before the arrival of the Dutch” (p. 4).

Both Fontijne and Forth are likewise interested in how leadership operated before colonial times in the Kelimado proper. Forth concludes that one of Fontijne’s important findings is that: “traditionally, the Kelimado district did not admit a formal diarchical division of religious and political authority” (p. 212). Leading us through a series of arguments, Forth asserts that traditionally the role of land guardian was played by a single person but over time the role has been divided among two people. Forth, comparing the findings of Fontijne to his own field work, determines that the “imposition of colonial rule in Kelimado resulted in a reversal, whereby the occupants of the junior position in the traditional leadership (which as Fontijne effectively demonstrated, did not admit a separation of religious and worldly authority) obtained the highest position of leadership in the colonial district” (p. 228). Also, Forth concludes that even though the Dutch desired that the organization of their administration match traditional authority this never happened in practice. They were “...explicitly political divisions, fundamentally different from the units, territorial and otherwise, of the traditional society” (p. 247).

Besides drawing attention to the reorganization of authority, Forth also highlights Fontijne’s recognition of the significance of the concept of “precedence” in shaping indigenous society (p. 248). The idea of “precedence” is that those groups or individuals who consider themselves as the “originators” of various practices are more valued (p. 248; 250). Forth argues that Fontijne’s study is important because it is one of the first discussions of the concept of “precedence,” which was later identified and developed by a number of scholars in eastern Indonesia.

Had space permitted, Forth could have made further connections to other colonial writings at the time, in different parts of Indonesia. Forth states, “Another feature of Fontijne’s report contributing to its singular character is the author’s forthright criticism of colonial policy and the proselytizing efforts of the Catholic mission, both of which are

described as adversely affecting the local society” (p. 7). Forth recognizes that Fontijne’s study should be read against the background of a colonial administration that was trying to reorganize itself to maintain “traditional social forms” (p. 15). During this time in other parts of Indonesia, the anxiety over the loss of traditions was a common theme. Nevertheless, Forth interprets Fontijne’s critique of the colonial administration as insightful rather than as part of an ongoing debate about what today might be called technologies of rule.

The 20th century brought about new debates over colonial policy. Some administrators (of which Fontijne is presumably one) were supporting an Ethical Policy that was concerned with studying customary law (*adat*) in order to ensure that programs and projects such as health, education, welfare and justice were based on “authentic” traditions (Schrauwers 2000, p. 40). Henk Schulte Nordholt describes the enormous efforts the colonial administration undertook to restore Balinese villages to their “traditional” character (1999: 253). V.E. Korn, a district administrator in South Bali, writing close to the same time as Louis Fontijne, also feared the loss of Balinese culture and was highly critical of the Roman Catholic Church (1999: 263). Thus, Fontijne’s report on the Nage may not be as unique as Forth claims; rather, it parallels late-colonial policies aimed at maintaining or restoring the “real” Bali or in this case the “real” traditions of the Nage.

If Fontijne’s colonial report is part of a broader, ethical approach to governance, we could read his document as a technology of rule for two reasons. First, it recognizes Fontijne’s connection to the larger system of colonial governmentality in Indonesia. Second, and more significantly, it recognizes that power operates not only through the destruction and loss of tradition; it sees how governance can occur *through* attempts to revive tradition (as viewed by the colonial administrators) (Foucault 1991).

Albert Schrauwers’ (2000) approach to reading colonial reports in Central Sulawesi is an interesting juxtaposition to Forth’s work. Schrauwers like Forth analyzes colonial reports that were ethnographically inclined (by Dr. A.C. Kruyt and Dr. N. Adriani who were missionaries in Central Sulawesi). Schrauwers, however, reads the reports in a different way than Forth does. Schrauwers, unlike Forth, does not search for what the “real” history is but how ethnographic knowledge was *used* by the church and state (p. 59). He claims that while reading these reports:

We must remember that the *adat* preserved by the state and the church is “discursive” traditionalism; it does not describe an implicit cultural logic of practice, but is a textually derived “tradition” infused with dominant colonial discourses’ assumptions of secularization and modernization. It is this discursive traditionalism that has been rationalized, systematized, and bureaucratized, and put in its place. As “tradition,” it stands by definition as persistence of the past, as an isolated, untouched remnant. (p. 27)

I tend to agree with Schrauwers that we must examine these colonial documents less as a source of knowledge but more as historical artefacts that need to be examined for the categories and conceptual frameworks they produced.

Overall, Forth provides a meticulous reading of Louis Fontijne's study. We finish the book knowing much more about Louis Fontijne's life, the purposes and limitations of his research, and extensive details about the practices and the beliefs in the Nage district of central Flores in the colonial period and more recently.

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Northwestern Lake Superior Jesuit Diary Project,¹ *Diary of the Mission of the Immaculate Conception, Volume I, 1848-49*, CD-ROM, Thunder Bay: Northwestern Lake Superior Jesuit Diary Project, 2003.

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The standard sources of research material for ethnohistorians, anthropologists and others interested in Canada's First Nations peoples have been restricted up until now mostly to the Jesuit Relations and the account books of the Hudson's Bay Company. A new resource is now being compiled consisting of Jesuit diaries of the mission of the Immaculate Conception situated in northwestern Lake Superior, principally in the Thunder Bay (Fort William) region, for the period of 1848-49. This compact disc is a preview version of the project, consisting of sample diaries, manuscripts, letters, maps, a glossary and bibliography. The CD begins with a slide show introduction which outlines the historical background of the Jesuits and their activities among the Micmac, Huron and other associated tribes, and then finally their arrival at Sault St. Marie and Fort William. The goal of the project is to publish in an electronic format the entire 80-year history of the Jesuits in the northern Lake Superior region.

The Diaries begin on July 19, 1848 when three Jesuit missionaries were put ashore with a boatload of miners at a

remote destination on the western shore of Lake Superior. The Jesuit Relations (1632-1672), which had previously recorded the exploits of the "Black Robe" missionaries, were serially published in Europe and were a popular source of information concerning the New World. Eventually, in 1773, the Society of Jesus was dissolved, yet reappeared after it was reinstated by Pope Pius VII in 1842. In Ontario missions were subsequently established on Walpole Island on Lake St. Clair (1844) and a few months later on Wiwemikong on Manitoulin Island. Two years later the Jesuits proceeded further west to Sault Ste. Marie and, in 1848, arrived at the trading posts of Fort William and Grand Portage. The plan of the missionaries originally was to minister to the existing Ojibwa communities in the area, but by 1849 they evidently had dreams of building a self-sufficient Native village based on subsistence agriculture in the vicinity of their new headquarters on the Kaministiquia River.

The diaries give us a day to day account of the many obstacles faced by the missionaries, such as the harsh weather conditions (a frost in the middle of July in 1849 that almost destroyed their potato crop), barriers created by language, and serious injury (one of the missionaries cut his leg open with an axe while attempting to square a log). Historically this time period of the late 1840s is of particular interest because of the struggles between the First Nations people and the Canadian and American mining companies. The missionaries were also witness to the preliminary negotiations for the 1850 Robinson Superior Treaty, and found themselves embroiled in a dispute between two chiefs competing for leadership of the Fort William Ojibwa community.

Ultimately it is envisioned that the Northwestern Lake Superior Diary Project will be expanded to include the Diary up to 1926, and would include various other letters and journals. It is anticipated that up to 4 000 pages of these documents could be processed and published. On the basis of the present sample of some 60 pages of material, it is difficult to assess how useful this material would be for those interested in historical ethnography, or northwestern Ontario history. For the most part the journal entries are quite sketchy, consisting usually of three or four lines of brief information, although there are occasionally much longer paragraphs. There are only two entries, for example, for the entire month of October, 1848. On another occasion (November 27, 1848) it is commented that "almost all the men go away hunting for 15 days or 3 weeks." Consequently, I suspect that those readers who are seeking the sort of detailed information such as that found in Charles Bishop's *The Northern Ojibwa and the Fur Trade* will be disappointed. None the less, the diaries provide information that cannot be gleaned from other existing sources, such as the triad of relationships between the Jesuits, the personnel at the Hudson's Bay Company post, and the followers of local Ojibwa leader Joseph Peau-de-Chat. The Diary Project certainly has the potential to provide a new beginning for researchers interested in the complex developing relationships in Northern Ontario's frontier between